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184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --

(171) One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembucuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Détoana and Puruborá.

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V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

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178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambi and Tehyucé. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

(534) Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

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178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykéy his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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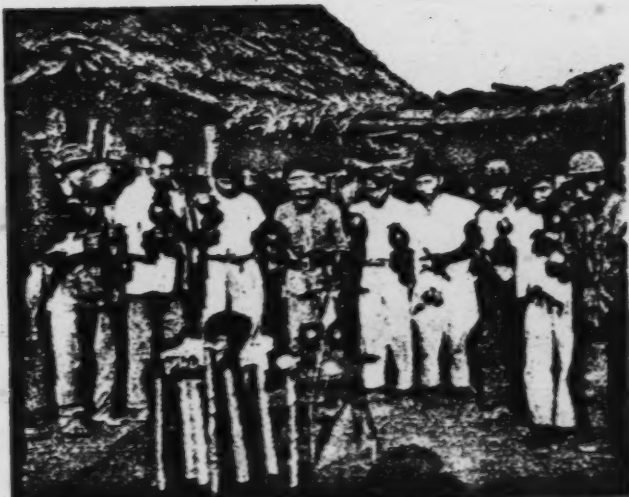


Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

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The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ reté moátyro, ɛ rykeý,
Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ curusú moátyro, ɛ rykeý,
Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ yeguaka moátyro, ɛ rykeý,
Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ curusú warópyte moátyro, ɛ
rykeý,
Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ curusú warákambý moátyro, ɛ
rykeý,
Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ curusú wapétya moátyro, ɛ
rykeý,
Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ curusú warópyta moátyro, ɛ
rykeý,
Hangatú, ɛ rykeý, ɛ curusú kuákuahá moátyro, ɛ
rykeý."

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In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that le rykey is used instead of Nhanderykey. Although Nhanderykey is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahy, its meaning must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykey is the elder brother; hence, nhandery-rykey means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song le = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

[776] This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykey, to the elder brother of the Caluás, and asks for purity of the body and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahy, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that

[778] speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs

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"Hoëri yahá, hoëri yahá, ñe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ñe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dzyroký ñe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ñe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ñe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ñe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

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[798] The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] 'saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office, the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house. Against one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

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disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

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Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

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Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

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At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein,

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[793] urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[533] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:

[539] /234/

"Yahá yahečá itymbý areteý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this:
"Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of
the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage
then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their dis-
appearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykey
and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of
Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of
their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to re-
ligion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the
main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let them-
selves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their
Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclu-
sion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has
received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these
tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

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291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter
months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the
Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect them-
selves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of
Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the
Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandyju inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not
been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who
wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and
other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys.
Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for
their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the tra-
ditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the
head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in
shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper
part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in
a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left,
turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior
part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all ob-
jects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains
by way of decoration.

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171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./

• 796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of
"ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence
activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of
maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as cer-
tain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss
in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from
the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there
may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural
tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced
by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to
others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Nandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
184 calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the
virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October,
planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is
valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize,
saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the
beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in
order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the
so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

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221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduf) are planted in January and harvested in July.

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221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is aggravated by the changa in the yerbaes /stands of yerba maté/, [245] inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the 182 white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former 241 without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso.

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221 To the extent that a social and religious calendar exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Hemongarai, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avari-mongarai, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is 221 planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

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too. The red maize avati puku pñi, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djakará was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagros," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

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All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pösto Indígena Benjamín Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongarai sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó roá roarángá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýgué, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the ñi a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñaíembo'e ñandé avati rü arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

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- 243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú ñandé avatí
 • 796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
 824 ñandé avatí ñahangá); after the first food is prepared with green
 maize (djahá hovass ñandé avatí djygué); and, finally, when
 the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djarú kñvira angá
 or djahá djaporahéi kñvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
 791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of
 corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants --
 mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita
pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the
 "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first
 basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, be-
 fore the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in
 order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomach-
 aches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among
 which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a
 genuine religio-economic calendar, to the extent that, as we
 have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

- 244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
 262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is
 considered indispensable, especially in the months in which
 maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and
 constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this
 reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial,
 rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
 [177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the
 caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the
 geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
 native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca
 [171] always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-
 Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to
 what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

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without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not re-incarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

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From the social point of view, the Nandéva theory of re-incarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guarani culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guarani doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

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[774] (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial beings or spirits ("fãndejára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called verãndýjú. After death, the syvukũ of the adult goes to meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvãýfiemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kafingũery rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination fiemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
- [192] The syvukũ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of Nandery ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celestial region called yrukitytẽã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.
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3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

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- [192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of mbaraká and takúapũ for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djïroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending
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● 796 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable
porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Nandéva and the Mbáá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also
being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to
[586] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

2: Schaden--167 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4
Kayová

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X. Religious dance of
the Kayová-Guaraní
of Dourados.

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XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

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776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
 • 796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
 789 the Guarani perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
 782 great deal during a puxirê /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
 159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his,
 the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the
 middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an
 old woman come, dancing, to him the saint three times. Then
 his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on
 the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirê in Bananal,
 when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the
 miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
 533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
 776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
 771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da.
 Limpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about
 the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay,
 of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which
 seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his
 father had already been a guitar player and "already had some
 prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guarani, particularly in the case of old individ-
 778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
 177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
 159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of
 São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José;
 in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory
 with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all
 provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of
 them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like
 it when reference was made to these things and even seemed
 somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the de-
 votional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from
 the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the
 magical function of the crucifix and the images.

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771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
 177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
 178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
 [182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
 [184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
 in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
 constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very dif-
 ferent attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
 very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
 teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
 my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
 view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One exam-
 [669] ple: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
 [787] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
 Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer;
 he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
 he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
 because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
 and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
 796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
 177 cannot refrain from focal observations or even ingenuous at-
 829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
 Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
 monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
 [184] Mbáá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
 [123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant
 to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
 permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
 do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
 It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
 village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
 Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
 Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Bemongarai, with an exhibition of all
 ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

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771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
• 796 in the vicinity. and even nowadays the kumumî piêta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[54] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Nandêva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

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Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

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The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takua(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takua(pú). In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbáá Nanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká!) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The Nanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenakiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

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As an instrument characteristic of the Mbáá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

771 /162 cont./ Under the
 772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
 167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
 756 the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
 787 started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
 175 in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
 Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only
 part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later,
 they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the coun-
 try of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-
 day Nandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-

[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found
 some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guarani, who could not
 be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
 the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
 Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in
 order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
 [121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would
 the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought?
 In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frus-
 trating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise con-
 tinue to exist among them and what modifications had it under-
 gone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
 continue, at least among the Mbatí. I have the impression, by
 the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the
 Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to
 seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guarani groups now living in
 Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which
 have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably
 part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
 773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
 779 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
 179 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is
 possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

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What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbũã only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The fãnderũ does not take cognizance of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

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Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbũã is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

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From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

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Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mats Gomo village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

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183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
• [796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes
of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so
passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its im-
portance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the
Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated de-
gree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /172/ Nanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrases "I am the way,
[762] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the
path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea.
In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Nandéva, as the
path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins.
Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in
the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path
of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm
of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant
form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray
with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his
frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guarani characterize themselves as tipéti as a na-
tion of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, accord-
ing to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths
that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the
yyvúti. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does
not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

WATSON

CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idola-
trously.⁷⁷ Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá.
A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses
may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal
usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided
with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."⁷⁸ The Cayuá
were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations
for the gourd rattle or *mikwáá*. This instrument was apparently always used
in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'í*) in curing rituals. It was
conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the
rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which
had been consecrated by the *pa'í*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special
place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapéi* of the *pa'í*. (Per-
haps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also
had female shamans, it is likely that the *mikwáá* was sometimes used by these
women; but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of
comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá
differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture
heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in
the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many
of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important
inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their
relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a
rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs
compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the
tapéi groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were
largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of
the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial
and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in
which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of
the sky pantheon of *ãndéjára*⁷⁹ as at present. Certain seeds and also the
first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'í*) have already been mentioned in connection with political
organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

⁷⁷ Homboldt, 1812, I: 80-81; DeMeillon, 1911, I: 284.

⁷⁸ Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

⁷⁹ Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary imported concept, at least in its present
sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals.
It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground.

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear.

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE, FISHING, AND HUNTING

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cawé*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic.

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *añai tapy*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence. Nevertheless, Cayuá usages

¹ Castler, 1946, p. 283.

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000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
[515] person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six
years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the com-
munity between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated.
There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the
age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[796] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
[346] munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.

[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small

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RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Nanderuvuçá,

[773] Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Nandecy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil.

776 According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Namandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupá is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Namandu in which he

772 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

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776 The *Pañ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to Jesuit influences, recognize Tupá as the Creator and High God. Among

[584] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupá, son of Nandecy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.

[791] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or

[821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupá are respectively lords of the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Pañ*). A stock of traditional prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of help betrays Christian influences.

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• [796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupá.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called *ayvucúé*, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (*acyigúá*), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the *acyigúá*.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power from them.

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After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupā, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

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The Caingúá feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

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Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

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Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

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The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The Caingúá offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupā.

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SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guaraní* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

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A shaman is a man who

owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their *ayvucué*, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortune is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he